

Message Text

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ACTION EUR-12

INFO OCT-01 AF-10 NEA-11 ISO-00 CIAE-00 DODE-00 PM-05
H-01 INR-10 L-03 NSAE-00 NSC-05 PA-01 SP-02
SS-15 ICA-11 TRSE-00 OMB-01 /088 W
-----009523 031847Z /72

R 031741Z MAY 78
FM AMEMBASSY MADRID
TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4452
AMEMBASSY ALGIERS
AMEMBASSY ATHENS
AMEMBASSY BELGRADE
AMEMBASSY BONN
AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS
AMEMBASSY LISBON
AMEMBASSY LONDON
AMEMBASSY NOUAKCHOTT
AMEMBASSY OSLO
AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY RABAT
AMEMBASSY ROME
AMEMBASSY STOCKHOLM
AMEMBASSY TEL AVIV
AMEMBASSY THE HAGUE
AMEMBASSY VALLETTA
USMISSION USNATO

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 01 OF 02 MADRID 04800

E.O. 11652: XGDS-1
TAGS: PINT, SP
SUBJECT: SPANISH SOCIALISTS (PSOE AND PSP) FORMALIZE
UNITY

REF: (A) MADRID 3925 NOTAL (B) MADRID 2542 NOTAL

1. PSOE-PSP UNITY WAS FORMALLY SEALED APRIL 30 IN A
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MADRID MEETING ATTENDED BY A HOST OF INTERNATIONAL
SOCIALIST NOTABLES, INCLUDING MITTERAND, SOARES, CRAXI,
AND SI SECGEN BRENT CARLSSON, AS WELL AS REPRESENTATIVES
FROM (INTER ALIA) THE NETHERLANDS, FRG, YUGOSLAVIA, IRAQ,
AND THE POLISARIO. SI PRESIDENT WILLY BRANDT SENT A TELE-
GRAM SAYING SPAIN NEEDED "THE UNIFYING FORCE OF DEMOCRATIC
SOCIALISM" AND THAT "EUROPE NEEDS A DEMOCRATIC SPAIN".

2. THE TWO SUBSTANTIVE SPEAKERS ON THE OCCASION, WHICH WAS HELD EARLIER THAN ORIGINALLY SCHEDULED (REFTEL A), WERE ERSTWHILE PSP LEADER ENRIQUE TIerno GALVAN AND PSOE SECGEN FELIPE GONZALEZ. SUBSEQUENT PRESS COMMENT EXPRESSED SOME SURPRISE AS TIerno, GENERALLY HELD THE MOERE RADICAL OF THE TWO, CHOSE TO STRESS PEACE AND ORDER IN HIS REMARKS, DECLARING "SOCIALIST IDEALS ARE A GUARANTEE OF ORDER, OF GENEROSITY AND SACRIFICE...SOCIALISM IS ESSENTIALLY REVOLUTIONARY, BUT NOW IT IS ABOVE ALL A GUARANTEE OF ORDER AND A GUARANTEE OF PEACE". SPEAKING IN A LOW KEY AND AT TIMES SPECIFICALLY DIRECTING HIS REASSURING WORDS TO THE SPANISH RIGHT, TIerno ACKNOWLEDGED "WE HAVE A UTOPIAN MOTOR" BUT ADDED "UTOPIA DOES NOT MEAN MADNESS, BUT RATHER THE CLEAR AWARENESS WE CAN IMPROVE THE FUTURE".

3. GONZALEZ, WHILE ASSOCIATING HIMSELF WITH THE "TRANQUILIZING WORDS" WHICH TIerno DIRECTED AT THE RIGHT, ALSO ACCUSED IT OF "UNLIMITED BRAZENNESS", REFERRED TO "THAT HAPPY NOVEMBER 20" (WHEN FRANCO DIED), AND DECLARED THE RIGHT NEEDED TO "BE EDUCATED IN DEMOCRACY". "THAT RIGHT", GONZALEZ ADDED, "WHICH DOES NOT BELIEVE IN DEMOCRACY, MUST BE FOUGHT, NOT AS AN ENEMY, BUT AS A POLITICAL ADVERSARY, WITH REASON AND WITH THE MASSES". GONZALEZ LATER TOLD THE AMBASSADOR (MAY 2) HE HAD FOUND TIerno'S CONFIDENTIAL

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REMARKS TOO MILD, AND SO HAD IMPROVISED SOMETHING AIMED AT "ANIMATING" THE PEOPLE. AFTER ALL, SAID GONZALEZ, "WE ARE ALREADY IN A POLITICAL CAMPAIGN".

4. ALSO OF SUBSTANTIVE INTEREST WAS THE "DECLARATION OF SOCIALIST UNITY" READ AT THE MEETING BY PSOE LEADER ALFONSO GUERRA. WHILE ASSERTING SUBSTANTIAL CONGRUENCE IN THE PROGRAMS AND PLATFORMS OF THE TWO SOCIALIST GROUPINGS, AND RETAINING MULTIPLE REFERENCES TO THE NEED TO ELIMINATE EXPLOITATION AND TRANSFORM SOCIETY, THE DOCUMENT ALSO POINTS UP THE PARTY AS OPEN NOT ONLY TO WORKERS BUT TO SMALL BUSINESSMEN AND OTHERS, "EVERYONE WHO LIVES FROM HIS OWN WORK AND DOES NOT EXPLOIT THE WORK OF OTHERS". EMPHASIZING THE DEMOCRATIC INTERNAL WORKINGS OF THE PARTY (AN OBVIOUS ALTHOUGH IMPLICIT CRITICISM OF THE PCE), THE DOCUMENT ASSERTS THAT "THE CONTROL OF THE LEADERS BY THE BASES...IS A GUARANTEE AGAINST ANY ADVENTURISM". IN CONTRAST TO THE EARLY "UNITY" DOCUMENT MADE PUBLIC IN EARLY MARCH (REFTEL B), THIS STATEMENT MAKES NO CRITICAL REFERENCE TO THE SI'S SUPPOSED "EUROCENTRISM", NOR DOES IT SPEAK OF "CULTURAL REVOLUTION". THUS IT APPEARS THAT PSOE LEADERS MADE GOOD ON THEIR PRIVATE PREDICTIONS

WOULD NOT SURVIVE.

5. NEITHER FORMAL UNIFICATION NOR THE EVIDENT (AND TO BE EXPECTED) SUCCESS OF THE PSOE IN HANDLING PSP EXCESSES IN THE EARLIER DOCUMENT MEANS THAT THE PSP WILL NOW DISAPPEAR WITHOUT A TRACE, WITH FOREIGN POLICY STILL THE AREA MOST SUSCEPTIBLE TO THE INFLUENCE OF ERSTWHILE PSP'ERS. THE UNIFICATION WAS LESS AMALGAMATION OF EQUALS THAN IT WAS ABSORPTION OF THE MINOR PSP BY THE PSOE,

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R 031741Z MAY 78

FM AMEMBASSY MADRID

TO SECSTATE WASHDC 4453

AMEMBASSY ALGIERS

AMEMBASSY ATHENS

AMEMBASSY BELGRADE

AMEMBASSY BONN

AMEMBASSY BRUSSELS

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C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 02 OF 02 MADRID 04800

HOWEVER, AND PSOE LEADERS HAVE EXPRESSED THE CONVICTION THAT THE PROCESS WILL RESULT IN NO PROGRAMMATIC CHANGE FOR THEIR PARTY. WHILE THE PRECISE OUTCOME ON THIS POINT REMAINS TO BE DETERMINED, "SOCIALIST UNITY" GIVES THE ALREADY CONFIDENT PSOE A SHOT IN THE ARM, AND LENDS

ADDITIONAL CREDIBILITY TO ITS SELF-DESCRIPTION AS THE
ALTERNATIVE TO POWER" IN SPAIN. STABLER

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